5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1

[1811 - 1917]

643 power, which gave him in effect the position of an autocratic monarch during the period of his viceroyalty. From 1882 to 631 1905 the administration was yet further centralised by the substitution for the Viceroy of a Governor-General, directly controlled by a Caucasian Committee at St. Petersburg. A civil Governor subordinate to the Viceroy or Governor-General ruled each Province, with the exception of those of Daghestan, Sukhum, Batum and Kars, where the Governor was a military officer. The Provinces were divided into districts, governed by officials bearing the title *nachalnik*, and the districts were divided into communes (*volost*), where the chief authority was a native elder (*volostnoi starshina*) elected by the community and assisted by a headman of each village (*starosh*). With regard to the law, small cases were tried by local magistrates; those involving more than 2,000 roubles by Russian judges in the district courts.

186 It will thus be seen that while the Russian administrative machine provided for a degree of local autonomy, the natives 469 had no influence on the conduct of Caucasian or even of provincial affairs. But this system was suitable enough to the mass of the peasantry who, under native rule, had lain in still deeper servitude. The Tatar peasantry, particularly, after the termination of the national struggle for independence, reconciled themselves to Russian rule. The Georgian aristocracy, still inspired by some glimmerings of sentimental patriotism, and resenting at once the supremacy of the Russian bureaucracy, the decline of their own feudal powers, and the steady growth of an Armenian bourgeoisie, alone of all the elements in the Transcaucasus continued to foster a vivid resentment against the existing régime. The Russian policy of Russification, the chief incidents of which were the subjecting of the Georgian Autocephalous Church to the Holy Synod (1811) and the abolition of the autonomy of Svanetia (1833) and of Mingrelia (1867), roused them more than once to sporadic revolt. Thus risings, partly nationalist and partly agrarian in character, in which members of the nobility led the peasant bands, took place at different dates—in Imeretia (1821), in Guria (1822) and in Mingrelia (1857).

538 During the same period, and parallel with the political discontent, the patriotic literary revival, initiated during the 186 previous century by Vakhtang VI and Prince Vakhusht, was developed, and a school arose of aristocratic journalists and poets, chief of whom were Alexander and Ilia Chavchavadze, Giorgi Eristavi (a Decabrist), Grigor Orbelian and Ivané

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[1911-1917]

177,66 668 receive without assimilating all the latest doctrines of the semi-emancipated workers of Western Europe. And the great mass of casual labour—Gurians, Imeretians and Mingrelians—which flocked back to the villages every few months from the copper and manganese mines or the docks and oilcase factories at Batum, carried with them into the countryside the ill-comprehended doctrines of Marx and Engels which some agitator had muttered into their bucolic ears a few days before.

668 Thus it was not long before a branch of the Russian Social Democratic Party had been formed in Georgia, with local centres at Tiflis, Kutais, Poti and Batum. It was founded by Russians, but a number of able young Georgians were soon at its head. But they were journalists, artisans and lawyers who had replaced the former aristocrats of Chavchavadze's school as the leaders of Georgian opinion. Such were S. Gibladze, "the pioneer of Georgian Socialism," Ninishvili, "the Georgian Gorki," and G. Tsereteli, the founder of the Socialist paper *Kvali*. The Social Democratic movement which professed to despise the Nationalist thought of Chavchavadze and based its theories on the class struggle, began to gain strength about the same time as the Imperial Government was initiating fresh anti-national measures, such as the forced emigration of the Ajars to Turkey (1880) and the enforcement of conscription in the Caucasus (1887). These measures doubtless drove many adherents into the Socialist ranks. In 1896 the railwaymen formed a first trade-union, [46] an example to be followed soon by the printers, iron-workers and other trades. In the same year Georgian Social Democracy received a brilliant recruit in Noah Jordania, who returned hot from the study of Marxism at Geneva to attack Ilia Chavchavadze in a series of articles in *Kvali*. Agitation was now gathering force, and in 1900 Prince Galitsin's Military Law, imposing liability to service in the remoter parts of the Empire, provoked a series of ugly strikes, as a result of which Jordania was arrested, and *Kvali* was suppressed, only to be revived by Irakli, son of Giorgi Tsereteli.

669 Towards the end of 1904 the revolutionary disturbances which had begun in European Russia spread to the Caucasus. The most blood-thirsty manifestations during the period 1904–6 took place at Baku and in the Armeno-Tatar regions, but the disaffection in Georgia was serious. In Tiflis bombs were thrown and officers were assassinated, while the Cossacks on more than one occasion inflicted cruel casualties on the crowd. Strikes took place along the Transcaucasian Railway,

[see cat. 116, pp 206-7 -- Analyst]

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and at Batum there was trouble between the Gurian and Mingrelian workmen and the Ajars, whom the authorities proposed to employ as "blacklegs." Finally, there was a serious Armeno-Tatar outbreak at Tiflis (December 1905), and for a time the city was threatened by Tatar bands who had advanced from the Borchalu district. On the countryside the troubles assumed still more serious proportions. The Guriel[1] and Prince Eristavi were murdered on their estates, and many landowners were forced to take to flight. The railway-line was cut at various points and troop-trains were wrecked. At Ozurgeti the "Gurian Republic" was proclaimed. For several months the Government lost all control of the country between Kutais and Batum. At last, in the first months of 1906, the reaction having triumphed in Russia, a powerful force of Cossacks under the Tatar General Alikhanov marched through Mingrelia, Imeretia and Guria, and suppressed the insurrection after some difficult fighting.

The revolutionary movement as a whole had failed, but its suppression indicated but the end of a phase in the struggle, and, for the Caucasus, it had not been without its meagre results. The Viceroyalty was revived, and the Caucasus was accorded twenty-nine seats in the Duma.[2] The Socialists did not—as in Russia proper—boycott the elections to the first Duma, to which were elected their most prominent representatives, Jordania, Irakli Tsereteli and G. Makharadze.

The tribes of the Northern Caucasus were naturally little affected by the revolutionary movement in Russia. But the old free spirit still survived in the mountain auls in spite of the bitter suffering and ruin of Shamil's wars. The Russo-Turkish War of 1877–8 had come too soon to rouse an active response among the exhausted tribes, but in the last decade of the nineteenth century the governmental policy of expropriating the mountaineers from the most fertile districts in favour of Cossack immigrants began to revive the warlike spirit. In 1898 a serious outbreak occurred among the Chechens, and four years later the Ossets rose. The disturbances of 1904–6 occasioned a recrudescence of the old raiding habits of the mountaineers. Trains were wrecked along the railway from Vladikavkaz to Baku, and bands of Ingush Chechens threatened the environs of Vladikavkaz and Grozni. But with the reaction in Russia, order was restored in the mountains. The tribesmen in reality retained little of their former strength. The best

[1] Chief Prince of Guria.
[2] Reduced to nineteen at the elections for the Third Duma.

 [see cat. 116, pp 207-9 -- Analyst]

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669 of their youths had been drawn to the oil-wells at Maikop, Grozni and Baku, and those who remained were no match for disciplined troops armed with rifles and machine-guns. After the Young Turkish Revolution of 1908 an effort was made by the many Caucasians in Turkey to revivify the hostility to the Russian Government, and an "Association of Political Émigrés from the Caucasus in Turkey" was formed at Constantinople, to be replaced later by a "Committee of the Caucasus." The movement was no doubt encouraged by the Young Turkish Government as a part of their general Pan-Turanian—Pan-Islamic policy, but it had little strength or significance.

669 *The War and the Revolution* (1914–17).—On the outbreak of
648 the European War the Young Turks made an attempt to detach from Russia some of the Caucasian national groups. The attempt was to a great extent abortive. The Social Democratic leaders of opinion in the Caucasus were in theory loyal to the Empire. A Georgian, a certain Leo Kerezelidze, did indeed form a "Committee for the Liberation of Georgia" at Constantinople, which proceeded to sign a secret treaty with Turkey, but it was entirely unrepresentative of any Georgian political group. Among the Muhammadan mountain-tribes the Turks found a limited degree of support. The Ajars rose in an unsuccessful attempt to support Enver's Sarikamish offensive (December 1914), and at the end of 1915 a Delegation, including the Georgian Machabeli, the Tatar Selim Beg Bebutov and two Turkish officers, Issa Pasha, a Lesghian, and Ali Fuad Pasha, a Circassian, proceeded to Berlin, to present a Memorandum demanding the assistance of the Central Powers in the formation of a quadruple Caucasian Confederation.

The outbreak of the Russian Revolution in March 1917 was welcomed with enthusiasm in the Transcaucasus. The Social Democrats, who represented the mass of public opinion, were theoretically anti-nationalist, and supported the conception of a Federated Russian Republic. Indeed the most prominent of them were interested rather in Russian than in Transcaucasian politics. A "Special Transcaucasian Committee" representing the four principal nationalities replaced the Viceroy, the Grand Duke Nicholas Nicholaevich, at Tiflis, but the real power reposed in the newly-formed Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, dominated by the Social Democrats.

669 As the disintegration of the central power in Russia proceeded, disunion developed in the Caucasus. The Social

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Democrats, Georgians, Armenians and Tatars, in spite of their internationalist ideals, soon became involved in the real and bitter racial antagonisms of the uneducated mass of the Christian and Mussulman peasantry. And the situation was further complicated, on the one hand by the intrigues of the Mussulman parties with the Turkish Command and by the effects of the propaganda of Turkish agents; on the other by the anti-Mussulman violence of the Armenian Dashnakists and by the reflex on Tatar-Armenian relations of the reciprocal atrocities committed by Mussulmans and Christians in the war-area of Turkish Armenia. 669

It was in the Northern Caucasus that a separatist movement first assumed definite form in the proclamation of the autonomous "Union of the Peoples of the Northern Caucasus" at Vladikavkaz in May 1917. But in Transcaucasia separatist tendencies were soon afterwards manifested in the demand for the reunion of all Armenian and Georgian contingents on the Polish front, and their concentration in the Caucasus.

The Bolshevist *coup d'état* at Petrograd in October 1917 marked the opening of the next phase of the Revolution. In the Northern Caucasus the conservative leaders of the North Caucasus Union naturally repudiated the Soviet Government, and associated themselves with the "South-eastern Union" formed by Messrs. Miliukov, Guchkov and Kharlamov, Gen. Alexeiev, and the Hetman of the Don Cossacks, Gen. Kalédin. The South-eastern Union made a desperate effort to reconcile the growing differences of the Cossacks and the mountaineers —differences which had already resulted in fighting—by engaging the former to cede certain disputed districts. The result was the defection of the Terek Cossacks who, in conjunction with Bolshevist troops returning from the Turkish front, attacked the mountaineers. On December 2, the independence of the "Union of the Mountaineers" was proclaimed, and a Provisional Government, at the head of which was a wealthy Chechen landowner, Colonel Tapa Chermoiev, was formed pending the convocation of a Russian Constituent Assembly. An organisation of local tribal autonomy was established, and the seat of the central authority was fixed at Vladikavkaz. 669 642

At the beginning of 1918, however, Bolshevist and Cossack forces advanced along the railway-line from Mineralnaia Vody to Beslan, and the mountaineers, who lacked munitions, were forced, after some severe fighting, to withdraw from Vladikavkaz and Grozni, and to remove their capital first to Nazran and later to Temir-Khan-Shura.

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669 642 In the Transcaucasus a Social Democratic "Commissariat" had superseded the "Caucasian Committee" at Tiflis. This body, which represented all nationalities (three Georgians, three Armenians, three Tatars and two Russians) was presided over by the Georgian Gegéchkori. It drew its authority from a "Transcaucasian Seim" composed of the Caucasian members of the recently elected All-Russian Constituent Assembly, with the further addition of two members for each original one, the various parties increasing their membership in proportion to the last election figures. Further, the Commissariat and Seim worked in conjunction with the various Workmen's, Soldiers' and Municipal Councils, and with Georgian, Armenian and Tatar "National Committees."

In spite, however, of this inevitable organisation on nationalist lines, the Commissariat still endeavoured to maintain the co-operation of the different races and the principle of unity with Russia; and at the Georgian National Congress in November 1917 the Georgian Social Democratic leaders Jordania and Chenkeli emphasised these principles.

VI

RECENT HISTORY

726 648 As in Russia, the most urgent necessity for Georgia was the conclusion of an early peace. The Turkish commander on the Turko-Caucasian front, Ferik Mehmed Vehib Pasha, proposed a cessation of hostilities at the beginning of December, in accordance with the action of the German General Staff on the Polish front, and on December 14 General Prjevalski, who still held nominal command of the Russo-Caucasian troops, signed an armistice at Erzinjan. During the following month the anarchy behind the Russian lines increased. Turkish agents were active in the Muhammadan districts of Transcaucasia, encouraging the Tatars and Ajars to attack the disorganised bodies of Russian troops who were making their way home through Transcaucasia. Armenian bands were attacking Turkish villages in the Russian area, and were preparing a desperate resistance to the Turkish advance.

In mid-January 1918 the Ottoman Government made a further *démarche*, addressing itself now to the "Independent Transcaucasian Government," which it invited to participate in the Brest-Litovsk negotiations. It was a development of the Turkish policy, revealed at the outbreak of war, of constructing

665 3 Filiashkin, K. I.
CC CP Azerb. SSR, 20. sezd, 1954

669 3 Fioletov, Ivan Timofeevich (Vania)
1884-1918. Azerb. revolutionary. One of the 26 Bakinskie komissary, organizer of Bakinskaia kommuna. Bol'shevik since 1903. After February revolution elected to Ispol. komit. sovet. Fought against Mensheviks, dashnaky and mussavisty. Komissar and president of Sovet narod. khoziaist. in Baku; member of Kavkazskii krai. kometet bol'shevikov. Executed in 1918.

BE I 57:630

641 5 Firsov, Vasilii Nikiforovich
Cherkes. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954

Pravda 3/18/54

4 Fomicheva, Efrosin'ia Alekseevna
Dag. deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR 4. sozyv, 1954
Pravda 3/18/54

538 1 Gabashvili, Ekaterina Revazovna
1851-1938. Born in Gori. Wrote on peasant themes and stood for feminist movements.
BE II 13:77

•669 2 Gukasian, Gukas Ogasenovich, 1899-1920 Armenian revolutionary; born in Kalara, near Erevan. Since 1917 Bol'shevik. Fought Mensheviks and dashnaks. His monument in Erevan.

BE II 13:189

665 2 Gukasian, Z.O.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 17.-18. s'ezd, 1954, 1956

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

536 2 Gulakian, Armen Karapetovich, 1899- Armenian producer and dramatist. People's artist of Armenia. Deputy to VS SSSR 2.-3. sozyv. Member of CP since 1941. Born in Tiflis. Chief producer of Sundukian theater in Erevan. Produced there: Lermontov's Maskarad, Gorkii's Na dne. Stalin prize in 1946 and 1950.

BE II 13:190

792 2 Gulian, M. T.
Member of Collegium of Armenian Supreme Court.

401 2 Guliants, Enovk Airapetovich
Stalin prize, 3. degree 1950 machine engineer.

Laur. Stalin prem. 1950 p. 25

316 3(?) Kamladze, Aleksandr Artem'evich
Stalin prize 1. class
Mining engineer

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 34

• 669 3(?) Kamo (pseud.) Party-pseudonym of Ter-Petrosian, Semën Arshakovich Born in Gori, 1882-1922. Prof. revolutionary. Died in car accident. Collaborated with Stalin.

BE II 19:543

242 1 Kanchaveli, L.
Director of the Institute of plant protection of Akad. nauk, SSR Gruz., 1954

Zar. Vost. 2/17/54

538 2 Kaputikian, Sil'va Barunakovna 1919- . Armenian poetess, born in Erevan. Stalin prize in 1952. Wrote Vera, Esli vdrug pozuvut menia, etc.

BE II 20:90

646 2 Karapetian, Sashibek Airapetovich
Deputy Sov. Nats. VS SSSR, 4. sozyv, 1954.

Kom. Er. 3/19/54

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1935-7 people's commissar of Azerb. social security. Deputy to VS SSSR 1. -2. sozyv. 1938-1948 president of VS Azerb. SSR presidium.

BE II 20:346

645 3

Kasumov, Salim Kasumovich
Minister of local industry, Azerb. 1954.

Bak. Rab. 3/10/54

• 669 2

Katanian, R. P.
One of the signers of a letter to Pravda. One of the old members of the 1905 revolution, formerly described in Soviet propaganda as the chief of "nationalist opposition" group in Armenia. For almost a generation his name had not appeared in the official press.

NYT 3/12/56

669 3(1?)
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648

Kavtaradze, S. I.
(no dates, place) Order of Lenin, of Red Labor. flag. Educated in Leningr. Univ. (law degree). Engaged in revolutionary work in Baku 1903. On editorial staff of Pravda 1913-14. Return to Caucasus in 1918. Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Georgia, 1921-22. Legal

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counselor to Turkey 1923-4; chief of Middle East Dept. of Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1941-3; deputy of Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1943-5; ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Rumania since 1945.

World Dipl. Dir. 1950, page 853

665 2 Kazarian, V. A.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18.s'ezd 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

538 1 Kediashvili, D.
1862-1931. Georgian writer. Wrote: Solomon Morbeladze, 1894; Machekha Samanishvili, 1897; Nevzgody Kamushadze, 1900.

BE II 13:78

325 3(?) Kekelidze, Ivan Grigor'evich
Stalin prize 3. class, for work in metallurgy (1950).

Laur. Stalin. prem. 1950
p. 32

814 1 Kekelidze, Konrelii Samsonovich
1879-. Georgian academician, philologian. Wrote: Istoriia

814
2 Malkhasian, S.
Worked on Tolkovyi slovar' armianskogo iazyka, in 4 vol. Stalin prize.

BE II 3:80

65
2 Maltsev, E. E.
Member CC CP Arm. SSR, 18.s'ezd, 1956.

Kom. Er. 1/22/56

815
665 3 Mamedaliev, Iu. G.
President of Azerb. Akad. nauk; Member of presidium CC CP Azerb. SSR 21.s'ezd, 1956.

BE II 26:189
Bak. Rab. 1/26/56

669 3 Mamed'iarov, Mamed, 1875-1933.
Professional revolutionary born near Baku. Took part in Baku strikes in 1903, organized Baku proletarians. 1922-27 narodnyi komissar of social security of Azerb. 1922-29 head of propaganda bureau of Azerb. oil industry.

BE II 26:190

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Caucasia R#1

S.U. 631 563 Ca. 692 E47

duction of their languages for official use. In other words, the Soviet nationalities policy in the Northern Caucasus remained unsuccessful, and an endless stream of statements, ordinances and recommendations issued by the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee (TsIK) in Moscow had been unable to remedy the situation to any major extent. On May 10th, 1931, for instance, TsIK circulated a decree to the effect that Soviet nationalities policy in the Northern Caucasus should operate at a quicker pace. The decree stipulated that by the end of 1932 at least 70 per cent of officials in the Autonomous Provinces should be recruited from among the local nationalities, and that local languages should be introduced into the administration. On July 5th, 1934, TsIK issued a statement recognizing that the decree put into force over three years earlier had remained a dead letter. A further decree which Kalinin signed on January 7th, 1936, again denounced the non-implementation of the Soviet nationalities policy in the Northern Caucasus and revealed that the Russian language dominated everywhere in local government bodies, from the provincial administration down to the village councils. Of 1,310 officials in the Northern Caucasus Territory only seventeen belonged to the mountain peoples. According to the new decree the local languages were supposed to come into official use in 1936 and 1937, but it is open to doubt whether that order had any greater practical results than its predecessors.

THE SECOND EXODUS OF THE MOUNTAINEERS

Ca. 669 S.U. 687 672

The Russo-German War fully revealed the discrepancy existing between propaganda and reality with regard to conditions in the Northern Caucasus. One could hardly find a better example of the former than the optimistic and distorted picture which Mikhail Kalinin gave in October 1942 when the German troops were approaching the Caucasus Mountains. Kalinin then said: 'The Caucasus is the most enlightening demonstration of the reforming, beneficial effect of the Soviet sytem on the psychology and character of people who, not without reason, saw danger to themselves everywhere. The Caucasians have now become a social people who see in the collective system their bulwark, the foundation of material prosperity and a higher intellectual life. . . . The whole Caucasus has become one mountain village for its peoples. The whole Soviet land, from border to border, has become their beloved home. National enmity has given way to mutual understanding, estrangement to co-operation. . . . Is not everything that has taken place in the Caucasus during the twenty-five years of Soviet power a miracle? Yes, it is a miracle. It is that for which Lenin fought all his life, that for which Stalin fought and is fighting, that to which our party has always aspired.' And Kalinin went on to say that the peoples of the Northern Caucasus were

displaying worthy resistance to the enemy, derailing trains, blowing up bridges, destroying ammunition and fuel depots.[3] Ca. 669 S.U. 687 672

Only a few weeks after Kalinin had made his panegyric statement little was left of the Caucasian 'miracle', and of the idyllic situation which the Soviet President had depicted. When the German armies occupied the Northern Caucasus region many mountaineers manifested their hostility towards the Soviet régime. They attempted to use the retreat of the Red Army to free themselves from what they considered the 'Russian yoke'. Over twenty years of Soviet rule had not altered their ingrained conviction that Russia's foes were their friends. These peoples apparently thought that they owed as little loyalty to Russia as the Indonesians deemed themselves to owe to the Dutch and the Vietnamese to the French when their respective countries were occupied by Japan. In the official Soviet view, of the seven peoples who in 1920 had formed the Mountain Republic four had shown themselves particularly unreliable in the crucial winter of 1942–43. They were the Chechens (407,600 according to the 1939 census), the Ingush (92,074), the Balkars (42,660) and the Karachay (75,737). After the North Caucasus region had been cleared of the invaders, the Soviet Government found itself unable to forgive these nationalities for their disloyalty or even their indifference. It also abandoned all further attempts to transform them into good citizens of the U.S.S.R. and expelled them from the 'happy family of Soviet peoples'. All of them lost the special territorial administrative units which the Stalin Constitution of 1936 had bestowed on them. Early in 1944 they were rounded up and deported to far away places in Siberia. For all practical purposes they ceased to exist. Thus were abolished the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous S.S.R. and the Autonomous Province of the Karachay. The Kabardinian-Balkar A.S.S.R. was transformed into the Kabardinian A.S.S.R. after having been relieved of the 'burden' of the Balkar traitors.

Soviet policy in the Northern Caucasus differed to some extent from Czarist policy since it resulted in the building of schools, theatres, libraries and hospitals, but for the four deported nationalities all this had been of little use. From their point of view there is hardly any difference between the policy of General Yermolov and that of Generalissimo Stalin. Indeed, the Soviet régime deprived at least as many Caucasian mountaineers of their homes as did the Czarist régime.

CONTINUITY OF RUSSIAN CAUCASUS POLICY: THE CHECHENS

The Chechens, as the most numerous nationality left in the Northern Caucasus after the emigration of the Circassians, offer a particularly good example of the continuity of Russian policy. The Large Soviet Encyclopædia rightly summed up the historical role of the Chechens by Ca. 563 175

1/ [Cf. category 116, pp. 182-184, R1 Sov. Union; 21: Kolarz -- Analyst]
2/ [Cf. category 116, p. 183, R1 Soviet Union; 21: Kolarz -- Analyst]

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union
Caucasia RH1
[Chechen]

describing them as the 'most active and strongest opponents of the Czarist Government during the conquest of the Caucasus'. The Russians suffered extensive and costly disasters at the hands of this people, who were unequalled in forest warfare.

Ever since the time of Peter the Great, the Chechens have challenged the Russian Empire, but from 1818 onwards their resistance to Russian rule assumed major proportions. In that year General Yermolov built a fortress to subjugate more easily the land of the Chechens. He called the new fortress 'Grozny', meaning 'menacing' and 'formidable'. The name of Grozny had a deeper meaning than might appear at the first glance: it was the symbol of a political programme that Yermolov defined in the following words: 'I wish that the terror of my name should guard our frontiers more potently than chains of fortresses, that my word should be for the natives a law more inevitable than death'. Grozny became Yermolov's headquarters, and it was from Grozny that countless Russian expeditions set out 'to punish raiders, avenge defeats, establish new posts, relieve beleaguered garrisons, or rescue retreating bands and armies'.[4] The Russian campaign against Chechenia reached its climax in 1840, at the time of the great Chechen rising under the leadership of Imam Shamil. The breakdown of Shamil's fanatical Moslem movement led to the gradual submission of the Chechens in the years 1857-59.

The Russian authorities knew well that these new subjects of the Czar, after all the trouble they had caused, would not easily reconcile themselves to the loss of their freedom; so an attempt was made to settle the 'Chechen problem' by a double transfer of population. Immediately after the conquest the inhabitants of forty-four auls (mountain villages) were transplanted from the mountains to the plains, where they could more easily be controlled. The more rebellious ones were forced to emigrate to Turkey, where they were given hospitality on the express demand of the Russian Government. In the summer of 1865, 39,000 Chechens, one-fifth of the entire Chechen population at that date, left Russia. Those who stayed behind did not remain quiescent. In 1877 there was another wave of unrest following the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War, and more trouble in 1886. A Russian monograph on the Chechens, published in 1894, said that they could not yet be considered 'fully pacified'; they still looked across the border to Turkey whither many more dreamed of emigrating.[5] The emigration of the 39,000 had not eliminated the 'Chechen problem', for the birthrate of these Chechens was particularly high, far above the average in the Russian Empire.

CHECHEN-INGUSH MOSLEM OPPOSITION

The immediate consequence of the October Revolution in Chechenia was a revival of violent nationalism and religious fanaticism among the

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union
[Chechen-Ingush] Caucasia RH1

Chechens. They at first accepted the leadership of the Sheikh Uzun Hadji who proclaimed himself Imam and Emir of the Northern Caucasus. The Emir was the ally of the communists in the struggle against the White Guards of General Denikin. Having vanquished the White armies, the Bolsheviks dropped the Imam, but they were unable to cope with Chechen nationalism. The Chechens demanded the expulsion of all Russians who in the course of the last century had settled in their 'living space'. Pending a positive answer to this request Chechen nationalist bands terrorized the Russian population of the area beyond endurance. In the early twenties the Russian settlers in Chechenia sent a complaint to Moscow on account of the endless raids and murders perpetrated by Chechen bands, and petitioned that they be disarmed. Mikhail Kalinin went personally to the Caucasus and attempted to calm down both Russians and Chechens. With carefully chosen words he tried to persuade them to live together in peace, to intermarry and to respect each other's customs.[6]

Whilst in consequence of Kalinin's personal intervention banditry stopped in Chechenia, it would seem that Moslem opposition to the Soviet régime was never quite suppressed. In 1931 the little country still had 2,675 mosques and Arab schools, as well as 1,250 mullahs, 34 sheikhs and 250 religious elders. The mullahs who were powerful opponents of the Soviet régime even managed to keep alive the illegal Shariah courts which were camouflaged as 'reconciliation commissions'.

The hostile attitude of the Chechens towards the Soviet Russian régime was often manifested in the readiness to credit the most fantastic anti-Russian rumours. Thus, in the early thirties, there existed a widespread belief that Kunta Hadji – the head of a popular Moslem sect who had died at the end of the nineteenth century – was still alive and was soon to return to Chechenia, where he would found a State based on Moslem religious law. Apparently the Chechens did not differentiate between Czarist and Bolshevik Russia in their hopes that Kunta Hadji would appear as Messiah, for it was he who had led them in the risings against Czarism in 1864 and 1877, for which he was exiled to Novgorod.

The Ingush, whose fate Soviet policy had coupled with that of the Chechens, showed themselves no less loyal to Islam. A delegate who represented Ingushetia at the 'Second All-Union Conference of Godless Pedagogists' in 1931, stated that the influence of the Moslem clergy was still so strong among the Ingush that children refused to learn from books which they believed to be anti-religious. Whenever a teacher tried to introduce anti-religious propaganda he encountered a hostile attitude among school children and there were cases in which teachers had even to leave the school for having criticized Islam. The work of the secular Soviet schools, where the children were taught in the winter, was counteracted by the Moslem schools where the young Ingush would learn